

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2, 1985 A21

# Tutu Vows to Defy Ban on Funerals; Black Lawyer Killed

By Allister Sparks  
Washington Post Foreign Service

TUMAHOLE, South Africa, Aug. 1—Nobel Peace Prize winner Bishop Desmond Tutu, speaking one day after the government banned political funerals in many black townships, vowed today that he was ready to defy the ban and go to jail.

Addressing a funeral crowd of about 8,000 in Tumahole township, which lies just outside the emergency area and is not subject to the ban, Tutu made an emotional appeal to the white minority government to lift the restriction which he said would worsen the country's racial crisis by creating a new point of confrontation.

"I beg the authorities; don't test us," Tutu implored. "I don't want to break the laws of this land, but if they pass laws which are quite unjust, quite intolerable, then I will break that law even if it means that I have to go to jail."

It was a day of intensified racial conflict, with a black civil rights lawyer reportedly shot dead by four hooded gunmen in a Durban township and a black police officer killed in a shootout with a guerrilla band near the port city of East London.

Friends of the civil rights lawyer, Victoria Nxenge, 43, said she was shot dead by four gunmen outside her home in Umlazi township.

There was rioting after her husband Griffiths Nxenge, also a civil rights lawyer, was assassinated in 1981.

Victoria Nxenge took over her husband's law practice. She was a supporter of the United Democratic Front, the main black activist organization, and she participated in many political trials.

Friends in Durban said tonight Nxenge was shot in the head as she stepped from her automobile at 7.30 p.m. They said a woman who was with her saw four hooded gunmen speed away in a car.

There have been several cases recently of black activists being killed by men wearing hoods,



DESMOND TUTU  
... "Don't test us"

prompting allegations that a "hit squad" has been established to eliminate key people. Police say they have no knowledge of such a squad.

The funeral in Tumahole offered some insights into how the black activist organizations are withstanding the attempts by the white authorities to put them out of action with mass arrests under the emergency regulations imposed July 21.

Although the township, which adjoins the small Orange Free State town of Parys, lies just outside the emergency area, local residents say it is being subjected to much the same kind of crackdown by police acting under the country's standing security laws which also permit indefinite detention without charges.

Five community leaders have been detained since the emergency was declared July 21, and four have been in detention for three months. Fifteen others have gone into hiding to avoid detention.

Yet the funeral rally was well  
See SOUTH AFRICA, A28, Col. 2



## South Africa digs in its heels

By Patrick Laurence

Johannesburg

Throughout his career South African President Pieter W. Botha has confronted political enemies eyeball to eyeball — and forced them to back down.

So far, Mr. Botha is responding to the serious internal and external pressures buffeting South Africa in the same steely-eyed manner.

On the international front, Botha has responded with defiance to the withdrawal of the US and French ambassadors. Yesterday's announcement that in addition to France the other countries of the European Community, plus Spain and Portugal, would withdraw ambassadors from South Africa for consultations did not unnerve Botha.

At home he responded this week to the continuing rebellion in black townships by imposing tough new curbs on funeral services. Earlier Botha refused to discuss the rebellion with Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel Peace Prize winner. Botha declared a

state of emergency in 36 districts July 21.

The restrictions on funerals have prompted bitter reactions from black leaders, since those services have been one of the last legal forums for black political expression. At a funeral service yesterday for three unrest victims Bishop Tutu gave advance notice that he would defy the ban on discussion of political issues at funerals.

Perhaps Botha's most defiant reaction to pressure has been his threat to deport 1.5 million foreign blacks from South Africa if the member states of the United Nations impose sanctions against South Africa. The UN Security Council recently voted, with the US and Britain abstaining, in favor of voluntary sanctions. France has already banned new investments.

Botha's immediate objective in threatening expulsion of black workers seems to be twofold: (1) to reassure his followers at home that he does not cower in the face of foreign pressure and (2) to prod some of South Africa's black-ruled neighbors to speak out loudly against international sanctions aimed at South Africa.

The possibility of expelling black laborers emphasizes South Africa's economic power in the subcontinent and its ability to inflict economic damage on its neighbors.

Foreign Minister Roelof Botha insisted that the President was not threatening South Africa's neighbors but merely spelling out the consequences for them of world sanctions.

South African news media, however, have chosen to see President Botha's statement as a threat. A pro-government Afrikaans newspaper headlined its front page: "SA hits back! Retaliatory plan after UN decision."

Use by Pretoria of its economic power against its neighbors would, of course, be costly to South Africa as well as to its neighbors. It is perhaps for that reason that organized commerce and industry greeted Botha's threat with somber silence rather than applause.

South Africa's neighbors are economically vulnerable in three areas: labor, transport, and trade.

Black migrant labor comes from five neighboring states: Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, Malawi, and Swaziland. Forty percent of the total migrant black labor force work in the mines. More than half of the migrant miners come from Lesotho, which is most vulnerable to

repatriation of its workers.

The number of Lesotho nationals earning wages in South Africa is twice the number earning a living in their home country. Remittances from Lesotho miners account for 40 percent of the nation's gross income.

Sudden repatriation would, in the words of an official report, "pauperize the majority of Lesotho households." Even phased withdrawal by Lesotho of its migrant workers is not a realistic option, according to Gavin Maasdorp of the University of Natal.

South Africa's dominance of the subcontinent's transportation network is evident from its possession of 75 percent of the railway lines and of the region's most efficient ports.

Much of the trading activity of the black-ruled states is routed through South Africa. In the cases of Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia more than half of their trade flows through South Africa. The dependence of Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland is even greater.

The dependency is accentuated by the guerrilla wars in Angola and Mozambique, where rebels allegedly backed by Pretoria repeatedly sabotage rail links with the ports of Lobito in Angola and Maputo in Mozambique, forcing goods from Zambia and Zimbabwe to take longer routes through South Africa.

It is significant that during the drought of 1983-84 consignments of food relief from abroad destined for other African countries were landed at South African ports.

The same dependence on South Africa is reflected in trade. About 90 percent of imports, including vital foodstuffs, to Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland come from South Africa, either from South African companies or from South African-based foreign companies. South Africa remains a major trading partner of Zimbabwe, has become Zambia's second most important supplier, and is the chief source of goods for Malawi and Mozambique.

Costs of repatriation to South Africa itself are most easily measured by looking at the mining industry, one of the few buoyant sectors of the nation's economy. Any abrupt expulsion of foreign miners would be as harmful to South Africa as it would be to its neighbors.

That is particularly true in the case of the miners from Lesotho, who are among the most skilled and industrious in South Africa's vital gold mining industry, particularly when it comes to highly specialized deep mining.

They are not easily replaced. Sudden dismissal would be thoroughly disruptive to the gold mines, which remain South Africa's biggest foreign exchange earner.

Moreover, as Erich Leistner of the Africa Institute, a research group in Pretoria, has noted, removal of foreign migrant workers could well strengthen the bargaining position of the National Union of Mineworkers. The black union is threatening to strike over a wage dispute.

Repatriation of thousands of workers from Mozambique would be in direct violation of a recent agreement between South Africa and Mozambique and contrary to the spirit of the Nkomati Accord signed between the two countries in March last year.

But these constraints do not mean that President Botha's warning of retaliatory action is an idle threat or a mere game of brinkmanship. In the past Pretoria has used its economic power as a political weapon.

It did so when it repatriated thousands of black workers from neighboring Zimbabwe in 1981-82 in response to the hostile attitude of the Zimbabwe prime minister, Robert Mugabe. It imposed a partial economic blockade on

Continued on page 4



# Gold Can't Save Apartheid

More swiftly than anyone foresaw, South Africa's choices are being narrowed. The country's white rulers seem incapable even of a gesture of conciliation to nonviolent blacks like Bishop Tutu, and this has the effect of encouraging civil if not revolutionary disobedience. Though isolated as never before and the target of multiplying sanctions, South Africa's leaders no doubt have the power to put down this summer's defiance. But they seem to be condemning their country to a downward cycle of repression and recession.

To a degree, South Africa's economy is sanction-proof. Its resources and economic reserves are sufficient to weather most short-term calamities, even the strike now threatened by the union of black mine workers. Most whites live comfortably by Western standards, luxuriously by Africa's; a bottle of Scotch is still \$6. South Africa is well prepared for foreign retribution; it can get by with its own energy and weapons.

Yet the future must look bleak in Pretoria these days. President P.W. Botha's two-week-old state of emergency for many black areas has failed to restore order. And in the unsentimental verdict of money men, the country's future is uncertain. In a fortnight, the value of South African gold stocks has plunged by one-fifth. This follows a two-year worldwide decline from \$460 to about \$325 an ounce, in a commodity that provides half the country's foreign exchange.

The emergency has dramatized a parallel decline in the dollar value of South Africa's currency. One day last week, on the mere report that a major American bank would no longer lend to South Africans, the rand dipped by 6 cents, or 12 percent. The bank turned out to be Chase Manhattan, and its largely symbolic action is sure to be followed by others.

Often enough, Pretoria has been able to shrug off market fluctuations, diplomatic ostracism and domestic turmoil. Its hard-boiled calculation has been that the world's desire for gold would always outweigh scruple and leave its corner of Africa safe for apartheid. But the application of sanctions abroad and the agitation of black unions at home suggest that the regime cannot count indefinitely on buying its way out of trouble.

Underscoring that message is certainly the intent of the United States Congress, which seems likely to vote for at least mild economic sanctions this fall. Even President Reagan, who has wanted to appear as Pretoria's friend, has hinted that he may sign such a measure. Though the President perceives more positive reform in South Africa than most observers, he recognizes the need for "fluctuations" of tone, as he put it yesterday, in pressing for the end of apartheid.

Incredibly, in these circumstances, President Botha cannot bring himself to meet with Bishop Tutu or other black moderates whose influence over younger blacks is fast fading. Having falsely branded the bishop an extremist, Mr. Botha is trapped by his own propaganda and unable to justify political negotiation with blacks to his more extreme white followers. Looking back upon this summer, the Afrikaners may one day wish they could recapture the moment when blacks still stood ready to engage them in nonviolent bargaining.

## Better than a veto

When the Senate reconvenes after its August holiday, it will have to take up those House-passed sanctions against South Africa. Not that the good senators will be reluctant. The sanctions are cheap morality after all, and far be it from most senators to miss a chance to support that. Meanwhile, pundits make wagers on whether President Reagan will veto this farrago of false rectitude.

If the Gipper feels assertive, a veto is nearly certain. He understands better than anyone on the Hill — even, alas, the Conservative Opportunists — that political interference in normal economic behavior will hurt South Africa's blacks most of all. Nothing has contributed to liberality in that beleaguered country, nor hastened the demise of apartheid, so much as American investments.

That President Reagan showed Congress who was boss in the recent budget imbroglio suggests that he has a renewed appreciation of principled responses. Considered in the strict context of a philosophical issue, a presidential veto would be exactly the proper gesture. And if explained to the nation by the Great Communicator, it would do much for the apolitical nature of human progress. A veto it should be, then.

Still, the sanctions furnish the president with a chance to do some high-minded maneuvering. Mr. Reagan could quietly hold out to South Africa's President P.W. Botha a veto carrot, in exchange for having Mr. Botha drop his repressive state of emergency decree, which not only exacerbates the crisis in South Africa, but also inflames our moralistic congressmen. And he could arrange some unambiguous power-sharing with moderate black leaders, such as Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Mr. Reagan should withhold his decision on the sanctions until he has engaged himself constructively, shall we say, on the matter. Though Mr. Botha has shown no talent in the art of defusing a revolutionary tinderbox, he can legitimately take credit for repealing the bulk of petty apartheid. The terrible irony is that his impulse toward liberalization gave rise to greater expectations and violence. What is left to bring down is the retrograde relocation program and the more egregious suppression of political rights.

Call it statesmanship or high pragmatism, but — thanks to the sainted boobs of Congress — Mr. Reagan has an opportunity to redeem his much-maligned South African policy.

SOUTH AFRICA DIGS IN

(Continued)

another neighbor, Lesotho, in 1983 to force it to expel cadres of the outlawed African National Congress.

Botha has choices other than the stark alternatives of immediate and massive repatriation of foreign workers or passive quiescence. Analysts here point out he could move on a selective basis. For instance, he might tighten up controls against illegal immigration from the north and impose a quota on Lesotho miners that might be reduced every six months.



# The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

## A Country's Mourning

**W**HAT COULD be more cruel to the blacks of South Africa than to deny them their chosen manner of mourning? Yet that is precisely what the white-minority government has done in the large areas covered by its state of emergency. Hundreds of blacks have been killed in recent months in the torment induced by apartheid. Funerals were the last legal place where blacks could come together; there is no doubt that they were taking on a political aspect. The Botha government, facing once again a choice between a reasonable and a repressive line, once again took the latter. It imposed new restrictions on funerals "of people who die of unnatural causes."

Bishop Desmond Tutu, the Nobel peace laureate, caught the full and hideous irony. "Please allow us to bury our people who died because of apartheid," he said yesterday. "Don't rub salt in our wounds." He was speaking at a funeral—one that apparently fell within the limits permitted by the new decree—of three people who had been killed in a clash with police after an earlier funeral. This is the situation: apartheid crushes blacks, denies them a political channel for protest and now denies them also a forum of lament for those who die at the system's hands.

It could be different. Just a few days ago, for instance, Bishop Tutu solicited a meeting with President P. W. Botha to address the issues behind the

current turmoil. A sensible politician would have grasped the hand of one of the diminishing band of black moderates. Instead Mr. Botha spurned Bishop Tutu. He demanded not only that the bishop repudiate violence—which he has already done, repeatedly and at great risk to his own life. He also insisted that the bishop repudiate civil disobedience, which, if he did it, would leave blacks on their knees saying pretty please to a regime that has earned their massive distrust.

The government, of course, sees it another way. Even some of its occasional internal critics are defending it these days, claiming that the reforms that have been promised if not yet entirely delivered by the Botha government have not been adequately appreciated by either South African blacks or foreigners. The government seems to have almost no sense of the too-little, too-late aspect of its reforms and of the desperation and evaporating patience of the black majority.

The West—even the United States—is moving toward what are in fact rather mild economic sanctions against South Africa. The South African supporters of the government feel bruised and are trying not to show panic. They need to see the sanctions not as a reprisal but as a demand that they reach out to the South African blacks who are in a position to speak for their people and to lead them to a peaceable and just solution.



## Bashing the Boers

8/12/85  
W. J. S. J.

Taking time out from tying itself into knots over its own budget, Congress has undertaken to solve the racial problem in South Africa. Everyone, not least us, agrees that a certain amount of pressure on the South African government is a good thing. Yet the bill for sanctions against South Africa is too easy a vote, precisely because apartheid has no American supporters, and because no one's district will suffer the consequences if the measure backfires.

The nuclear-freeze movement having vanished from the headlines, bashing the Boers has suddenly become the approved outlet for demonstrating your own morality. Even the French, who have made opposition to economic diplomacy a national policy, joined the game by leading the U.N. battle for trade sanctions against the South Africans. House-Senate conferees put together a bill to ban new bank loans to the South African government, halt the sale of nuclear technology to South Africa and ban the import of Krugerrands.

When moral fads are running full tide, it's hard to express any reservations without being accused of being in favor of nuclear holocaust or apartheid. So we're glad to see the White House raising questions about the particulars of the sanctions; there are certain practical questions involved.

One, for example, is the not-so-trivial matter of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. South Africa has full Most Favored Nation status, and the import ban for political reasons almost surely breaks GATT rules prohibiting nations from unilateral actions disrupting the trading order. With growing protectionist sentiment threatening the world economy, this would be an unhappy precedent, indeed potentially a haunting one.

On the more immediate issue, sanctions are likely to hurt South African blacks, as Alan Paton has said in South Africa and Larry Speakes said

at the White House yesterday. A Krugerrand sells in the U.S. for about \$340. Of this the South African government receives 40 cents for a minting fee, while black miners receive about \$50. Some 50,000 blacks work in the South African gold mines, supporting five or six dependents each. Striking against Krugerrands is dirt cheap in Washington, but for the black community in South Africa it will be an expensive symbol indeed.

Then there is the matter of the timing of the latest moralistic fad. Under quiet pressure from the Reagan administration and a more realistic view of its own long-run interests, the Botha government in South Africa has lately been moving toward reform. Its steps seem painfully small from an American perspective, though much larger in a South African one. Yet surely they are in the right direction, and have met not with encouragement but with an escalation of demonstrations and controversy.

The present crisis pretty much got under way when the leftist Trans-Africa, Inc. stirred up public temper in the U.S. Only later did the conflagration spread to South Africa, where it was orchestrated in part by the African National Congress, a socialist outfit that eschews moderation for radicalism. An especially ugly part of the recent violence in South Africa has been the killing of black moderates by black radicals. The Botha regime, finding its reforms anything but rewarded, has turned to a new round of arrests and repression.

Throwing official sanctions into this tinderbox scarcely strikes us as a prudent way to avert or at least postpone a South African maelstrom. Trying to reform apartheid is a delicate task of diplomacy, and Congress ought to leave it to the executive branch, at least until it has dealt with the domestic problems the Constitution defines as its business.



# Congress Votes Supplemental Spending Of \$13 Billion; South Africa Bill Stalls

8/2/85  
By PAUL DUKE JR.  
And DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Congress, hurrying to complete business before a monthlong recess, approved a \$13 billion supplemental-appropriations bill, but Senate conservatives held up final action on economic sanctions against South Africa.

The supplemental bill, which includes \$2.25 billion in aid to Mideast nations and \$27 million in economic and logistic support for Nicaraguan guerrillas, won final approval after lawmakers worked out a jurisdictional dispute involving 41 water projects.

Meanwhile, the House passed by an overwhelming margin a compromise bill to impose economic sanctions on South Africa, but Senate conservatives led by Sen. Jesse Helms (R., N.C.) threatened a filibuster and prevented a vote on the compromise before the recess, which begins today.

Although eventual Senate approval is all but certain, White House spokesman Larry Speakes said yesterday that some elements of the bill "do not suit us," adding that President Reagan hasn't decided whether to veto it. Mr. Reagan favors diplomatic pressure and private initiatives by American companies, rather than sanctions, as a means of breaking down the barriers of apartheid.

## 'Constructive Engagement'

Yesterday's House vote on the compromise bill, 380-48, was an indication that support for sanctions—a repudiation of the Reagan administration's policy of "constructive engagement"—had grown among conservative Republicans, who opposed the more stringent House version of the bill. The original House version passed 295-127.

"The time has come for us to write the obituary for the policy of constructive engagement," said Rep. Stephen Solarz (D., N.Y.).

House members of both parties said the wide margin made it clear that their chamber could override a veto. Rep. Robert Walker, a conservative Pennsylvania Republican, and 29 other Republicans told the president in a letter that "persistent and escalating violence in South Africa requires our country to respond immediately" and urged Mr. Reagan not to veto the bill.

The House-Senate compromise would prohibit new bank loans to the South African government and block import of Pretoria's krugerrand gold coins. It also would end computer sales to South Africa's military and police, and would ban the sale of nuclear technology.

The bill would require most American companies operating in South Africa to comply with a set of fair-employment and housing principles for blacks. And if South Africa doesn't make progress toward end-

ing apartheid in a year's time, the president would be required to recommend one of several tougher sanctions.

Although Mr. Helms and his allies prevented a final vote on the sanctions yesterday, the Senate voted against a move to table the compromise. The unanimous vote thus represented a procedural gesture that indicated the chamber's support of the compromise.

## Water-Projects Construction

The supplemental-appropriations bill won swift approval after lawmakers agreed to forbid new construction of water projects until authorizing legislation is passed, or until May 15, whichever comes first. The compromise was designed to end a jurisdictional wrangle between the authorizing and appropriations committees on water policy.

The dispute arose because 21 of the 41 Army Corps of Engineers water projects in the bill, including river locks, dams and deep-water ports, haven't been authorized by the public works committees of both houses.

The compromise lets the public works committees set broad outlines on water policy. And the deadline is intended to hasten their action. Rep. James Howard (D., N.J.), chairman of the House Public Works and Transportation Committee, called the May 15 deadline "reasonable" and said he hoped authorizing legislation would be passed by year-end.

The bill would prohibit the Central Intelligence Agency and Pentagon from administering and distributing aid to Nicaraguan guerrillas but would allow "interdepartmental consultation," which would open the door to some advisory role for the intelligence agency. White House officials said President Reagan is expected to sign the legislation, which includes \$1.5 billion in aid for Israel; \$500 million for Egypt and \$250 million for Jordan over a two-year period.

Action on the supplemental appropriation came as the House Appropriations Committee approved a \$14.6 billion foreign aid bill for fiscal 1986 that cut money from the president's military aid budget and included language prohibiting any of these funds from being used for aid to Nicaraguan guerrillas.

The Senate also passed, by a voice vote, a \$15.3 billion energy and water appropriations bill for fiscal 1986 that includes continued funding for the Appalachian Regional Commission—targeted for elimination by the Reagan administration but preserved in yesterday's budget agreement—and more funding for the Tennessee Valley Administration than the administration recommended.

It also contains \$7.6 billion for nuclear weapons and materials, including funding for nuclear warheads for such missiles as the cruise, the Pershing II and the MX.



# House, 380 to 48, Approves Sanctions Against South Africa

8/2/85

By Joanne Omang  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House gave overwhelming final passage yesterday to a package of economic sanctions against South Africa as several conservatives warned President Reagan that any veto effort would probably be overridden.

The 380-to-48 vote came as administration officials reaffirmed their opposition to sanctions as a method of pressuring South Africa to end its apartheid policy of racial segregation. But the officials stopped short of threatening a veto, saying instead that Reagan continues to support "constructive engagement," or low-key diplomatic pressure for change, and would make a decision on the final measure when it comes before him.

In the Senate, conservatives derailed an effort by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) "to get some indication of where the Senate stands" through a test vote. The count was 97 to 0 against tabling, or killing, the measure. That meant final action was put off until after the August recess, avoiding a filibuster by conservative opponents. Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said eight senators "are prepared to talk at length" against the bill.

As agreed by a House-Senate conference committee Wednesday evening, the bill would ban the importation of the South African krugerrand gold coin, prohibit new U.S. bank loans and nuclear technology transfer, and curb computer sales involving more than \$100,000.

The krugerrand ban could be lifted if the president certifies—and Congress agrees—that South Africa has achieved at least one of eight measures of progress, such as ending forced relocations, freeing its political prisoners or providing full citizenship rights to nonwhites.

If there is no progress at the end of a year, however, the president would be required to recommend at least one of several additional sanctions, including a ban on new U.S. investments in South Africa, prohibition of uranium and/or coal imports or denial of its most-favored-nation tariff status.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said the administration had "a number of complaints" about those provisions and opposed "anything that would discourage U.S. investment" on the grounds that business declines harm black workers.

"I think turning away from South Africa and not remaining in contact, to exercise influence, would be the wrong thing to do," Speakes said.

Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger echoed Speakes, saying the United States is "not in a position to make any more enemies as far as countries are concerned." He told the Associated Press in an interview, "We need all the help, all

the friends, all the alliances we can put together."

Weinberger compared the white-minority South African government to the late shah of Iran, whose overthrow brought in the Islamic fundamentalist regime of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini.

"I've always tried to take the position that we certainly do not want to do anything to perpetuate conditions that we abhor," Weinberger said, referring to apartheid in South Africa. "But we do have to look at alternatives. And I always keep going back to Iran, where some people a few years ago thought the shah was a very repressive ruler and had a very repressive regime, and paid no attention whatever to the alternatives that would flow from not supporting him."

"And as a result, we have the most repressive government since the Middle Ages [in Iran], and that could have been avoided, in my opinion."

The House vote followed ringing calls for an end to apartheid from a broad range of members. Foreign Affairs Committee Chairman Dante B. Fascell (D-Fla.) said "the whole atmosphere changed" in Congress after South Africa imposed a state of emergency July 7, sparking violence.

In a letter to Reagan, seven conservative House members noted that they had opposed sanctions in the first House vote June 5, but supported the final package as "a fair and reasonable compromise" that has bipartisan support in both chambers.

"The persistent and escalating violence in South Africa requires our country to respond immediately to this crisis," they wrote. "We respectfully urge you not to veto this measure because it is an important statement of U.S. policy for the future." They said they would "actively work" to override any veto.

Signers were Reps. Doug Bereuter (R-Neb.), William S. Broomfield (R-Mich.), Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), Paul B. Henry (R-Mich.), Robert J. Lagomarsino (R-Calif.), Barbara F. Vucanovich (R-Nev.) and Robert S. Walker (R-Pa.).

Rep. D. French Slaughter Jr. (R-Va.) was the only member of the Maryland or Virginia delegations to oppose sanctions. Four Texans were the only Democrats to join 44 Republicans voting no.

In a Baltimore appearance before the National Association of Black Journalists, Frank G. Wisner, acting assistant secretary of state for African affairs, was asked why "constructive engagement" has failed to prod Pretoria toward significant reforms.

"That's how tough the problem is," he responded. "We have an uphill fight before us, but what we have in front of us is a clear set of objectives."

Staff writer Keith Richburg  
contributed to this report.



*William Raspberry*

# The First Sanctions Won't Cost Much *wash Post*

Will the sanctions approved this week by House-Senate conferees lead to fundamental change in South Africa?

Maybe not. It's important to remember that it is not in America's power to make South Africa do what it is determined not to do. But it is also important to note that the graduated sanctions agreed to by the conferees offer the best chance America has of helping South Africa steer the tricky course between apartheid and revolution. For four years now, that country has learned to count on America's speaking sternly while carrying a limp noodle for a stick.

It will now have to face up to the new reality that America's good will and cooperation no longer come free.

The initial costs, while symbolically important, are relatively cheap. There would be a ban on U.S. bank loans to the South African government (few such loans have been made in recent years), a suspension of nuclear cooperation and a ban on computer sales to South African agencies that implement apartheid as well as a prohibition against the importation of krugers, the South African gold coin.

But if nothing in that initial package would hurt South Africa very much, a second phase of sanctions, to kick in in a year unless the president and Congress certify that there has been satisfactory progress toward the dismantling of apartheid, would begin to draw blood. That second phase would ban new private investments and private bank loans (currently running at close to \$5 billion) and elimination of most-favored-nation status for South Africa.

The specifics of this week's congressional action, however, are far less important than its seriousness. South Africa is on notice that it can no longer count on the toothless urgings of "constructive engagement," that things will get better between the government and the black majority or else get a lot worse between Washington and Pretoria.

The question South Africa's white minority will have to answer for itself is whether a serious move away from apartheid is a greater danger than the loss of U.S. economic cooperation. In other words, can the government find some way out of its self-imposed mess that still protects the basic interests of whites?

A relatively short time ago, the answer would have been easy: yes.

American activists like to talk of one man, one vote, which South African whites tend to equate with suicide. But there was reason to believe that serious negotiations with South Africa's most highly respected black leaders might have produced a compromise that both white and nonwhites could live with.

The trouble was what the trouble in these situations nearly always turns out to be. Those who hold the preponderance of power are seldom interested in negotiating any of it away—until they are left without alternatives. And by then, the demands may be uncomfortably high.

The South African government, in a desperate attempt to keep all power in the hands of whites, has undertaken a series of actions—including the foolish refusal of President P. W. Botha to meet with Bishop Tutu and, more recently, a ban on rallies at funerals—that seem certain to radicalize even the most moderate black leaders.

The more government officials follow that path, the more likely that blacks will settle for nothing less than one man, one vote, which means that the prospect for a peaceful outcome becomes dimmer and dimmer.

The best hope for now is that South Africa, to avoid the snowballing of economic sanctions, might decide to back off its deadly course and start moving in the direction of racial justice.



# The Making and Remaking of Foreign Policy

By LESLIE H. GELS

Special to The New York Times

8/2/85

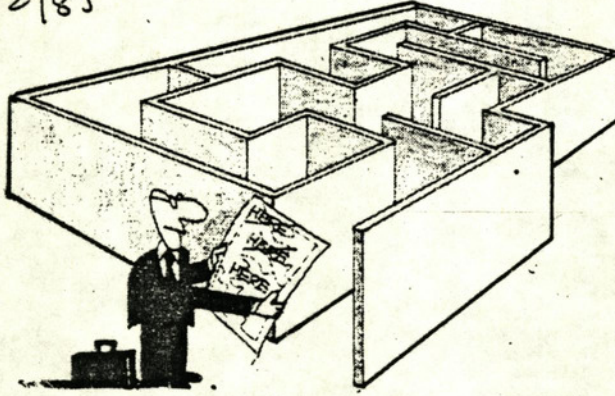
WASHINGTON, Aug. 1 — It is standard operating procedure for administrations to overhaul, modify or trim their foreign policies and deny it all the while.

Consider the Reagan Administration's South Africa policy. Called "constructive engagement," it means trying to change South Africa's system of racial separation through persuasion rather than confrontation.

But in recent weeks, among other things, the Administration has recalled its Ambassador to Pretoria and has toughened its anti-apartheid oratory.

According to Administration officials, all that is going on is some tactical trimming. And White House and State Department spokesmen are not even acknowledging that much publicly.

But upon closer inspection, it appears that the Administration has been forced to take these and other



Redinger

their policy of constructive engagement, over all, is the right one. Privately and publicly, they say that other approaches that entailed confronting and condemning have failed and that there is no alternative to working with Pretoria.

The officials cite the decision this week by Pretoria to recall its Ambassador-designate to the United States. Despite having recalled their own ambassador, the Reagan officials do not want to lose all formal diplomatic touch. They worry about the snowballing effect of American-toughness followed by South African-toughness followed by more of the same.

Nevertheless, over the last few weeks the Administration itself has done a number of things that seem clearly to run counter to "constructive engagement":

¶ President Reagan signed a bill that included a ban on the sale of computers to the South African police.

¶ Ambassador Herman W. Nickle was recalled after the South African forays into Botswana and Angola.

¶ Condemnations of the racial separation system or racial discrimination became louder and clearer, such as White House spokesman Larry Speakes saying that the system was "largely responsible for the violence" in South Africa at this time.

To be sure, these actions are being forced on the Administration by events in South Africa and in Congress. High-ranking Administration officials without exception make

clear that they strongly prefer to stick to constructive engagement as closely as possible.

The furthest Administration officials have gone is to describe the deviations from the policy as "tactical."

The officials are also careful to say that no policy review is under way, that they are, instead, reviewing "the situation." Such phrasing is frequently a euphemism in the capital for something more than a review, and in the case of South Africa it appears to mean that officials are waiting to see how far they will have to go to respond to events or how far they will be pushed by Congress.

## A Design in the Denials?

Sometimes in the past when Administration denials of policy change turned out to be 180 degrees from the truth, the denial, in retrospect, seemed designed to enable the Administration to spring an accomplished fact on potential opponents of policy change before they had a chance to gather their forces. President Nixon, for example, denied he was even thinking about an opening to China at the very moment Henry A. Kissinger, his chief troubleshooter and national security adviser, was arranging secretly to visit Peking.

It is doubtful that anything like that is going on regarding South Africa policy. But in any event, the Administration's critics continue to push for significant change, for toughening the

policy.

Senator Nancy L. Kassebaum, the Kansas Republican who is chairman of the Foreign Relations Subcommittee on African Affairs, says the Administration might start with dropping the very name "constructive engagement" because it has come to be perceived as pro-Pretoria.

To Representative Howard L. Berman, Democrat of California, a member of the Foreign Affairs subcommittee on Africa, "The Administration policy toward South Africa is in shambles, and has been repudiated by overwhelming margins in the House and Senate." He was referring to House and Senate bills dealing with sanctions against South Africa that were reconciled Wednesday in conference, more along the lines of the milder Senate bill.

What will it take to convince the Administration that its policy toward South Africa has failed and needs more than review or trimming?

"South Africa has to be judged by Western standards of human rights," one high-level Administration official replied. "If the internal peace process stopped dead, we'd have some real problems. We might not like the pace, but the pace can't be halted."

Meantime, Administration officials argue that about all they can do is to urge talks between South Africa and black leaders to end the state of emergency. Underlying that argument is the official judgment that the United States has little or no real power to affect the course of events with or without sanctions and tough talk.

Anthony Lake, an architect of the Carter Administration policy toward South Africa and now a professor at Mount Holyoke, put it this way: "Reagan Administration officials have discovered that South Africa is less interested in the carrots of good relations than they thought, just as Carter officials realized that South Africa is less fearful of Administration sticks and displeasure than they thought."

It may be that when the dust settles in South Africa and Congress, the Administration will still be talking about and believing in "constructive engagement." But given the acknowledgment that the United States has little or no real power to effect change in South Africa, a policy of constructive engagement might end up as a policy in name only.

## Whither the plan for 'constructive engagement' in South Africa?

steps that run counter to the constructive engagement policy and are more "confrontational" than "engaging." Based on reports today, President Reagan would draw the line at economic sanctions and veto Congressional legislation that tried to impose them.

The process of making alterations but denying that they are being made is not historically unique.

President Johnson put a lid on American troops in Vietnam and insisted that it represented no policy change. President Nixon wanted to get an agreement reducing Moscow's heavy missiles, did not get it, and said what he got was what he wanted all along. President Reagan sent a Marine contingent to Lebanon to defend vital American interests there, and after more than 200 were killed in a terrorist bomb attack, he "redeployed" the unit out of Lebanon and said his policy had achieved its aims.

About the only recent President to admit he changed his mind about anything was Jimmy Carter. At the start of his term he spoke about "the inordinate fear of Communism." After the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, he said he had underestimated the Soviet threat. By testimony of those around him, he came to regret changing his mind publicly.

To openly admit a policy change, even a modest one, is for a President to grant he made a mistake. One mistake opens the door to fallibility in general, and those with political power seem to be more comfortable with people questioning their veracity than their judgment.

The Reagan Administration also appears to fear the consequences in South Africa of talking openly about any policy changes. As Frank G. Wisner, the senior deputy to Chester A. Crocker, the Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, put it: "We must act responsibly. There's a lot of gasoline on the floor in South Africa, and the last people who should strike a match is the Americans."

Beyond this, Administration officials dealing with South Africa show every evidence of still believing that



# Group Funerals Outlawed For S. Africa Riot Victims

Johannesburg (AP) — The government yesterday banned group funerals for riot victims. Clergymen said denying blacks one of their last legal means of venting anger against white rule would cause more bloodshed.

Bishop Desmond Tutu said he planned to defy the ban at outdoor services today. Tutu, the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg and a Nobel Peace Prize laureate, told Britain's Independent Television News that he will speak at an outdoor funeral for riot victims in Parys, south of Johannesburg.

He said he would "speak as I have always spoken," and address political and social concerns.

The funerals, held outdoors, have attracted thousands. Many have been followed by violence.

The restrictions ban outdoor services and funerals for more than one person. Only ordained clergymen may speak and they may not mention police action. Flags, banners and posters will be prohibited.

A government notice said mourners would have to travel in vehicles. That would end the common practice of marches staged by defiant, chanting youths from churches to cemeteries.

Foreign ministers of the 10 Common Market countries, meeting in Helsinki, Finland, agreed to recall their ambassadors from South Africa for consultations to protest that country's racial policies, a Common Market statement said today.

Tutu said the government's state of emergency was adding fuel to the black unrest, and that any peace will be temporary. "The consequence of putting the lid on is merely to allow the steam to build up, and the pressure increases. And before you can say Jack Robinson, you have an almighty explosion," he said.

The Rev. Allan Boesak, an anti-apartheid leader, said the restrictions would lead to increased violence. "It seems that this government wants bloodshed," he told a rally in Cape Town.

[The South Africa Media Council ruled that the security police publicized an extramarital affair between Boesak and a church worker in an attempt to discredit him, the Los Angeles Times reported. The council, which has legal authority to act on allegations of wrongdoing by the news media, dismissed a complaint by the police that the Johannesburg Star, the country's largest daily newspaper, had defamed the police with a charge that the authorities were trying to smear Boesak in a program of political "dirty tricks."]

The Rev. Beyers Naude, white secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches, said funerals were one of the "last remaining channels" for political dissent. As many as 60,000 mourners have attended some recent burials.

"If these funerals are now increasingly being controlled or curtailed, black anger will increase" and frustrated black communities "will eventually defy such restrictions — thereby causing more conflict and clashes," Naude said.

Police, meanwhile, reported new violence in black townships. A patrol shot a black man to death in Cathcart in the eastern Cape Province. He was the 20th black killed since a state of emergency was imposed July 21 in 36 towns and cities.



Soweto college students demonstrate Tuesday for the release of eight students detained by police

## House, Senate Agree On List of Sanctions

By Roy Gutman

Newspay Washington Bureau

Washington — House and Senate conferees agreed last night on punitive sanctions against South Africa that would sever a variety of economic ties with the white minority government such as sale of gold Krugerrands in this country.

The bill, intended to press home U.S. demands for an end to the apartheid system of racial separation, contains four measures that would take effect immediately.

They are a ban on importing gold Krugerrand coins, the prohibition of private bank loans to the Pretoria government, suspension of nuclear cooperation, and a halt to U.S. computer sales to South Africa agencies that implement apartheid. The Krugerrand ban could be lifted on presidential determination that South Africa had taken major measures toward eliminating apartheid.

The legislation calls for more severe actions in one year, such as a ban on new private investments or elimination of most-favored-nation tariff treatment, unless South Africa makes significant progress to eliminate apartheid.

Both houses of Congress and President Ronald Reagan must approve the bill for it to become law. Although passage is assured in the Democratic House, its prospects in the Republican-controlled Senate are complicated by the threat of conservative Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to conduct a filibuster against it. And it was unclear last night whether Reagan would sign the bill. Reagan has opposed sanctions against South Africa, but events

in South Africa and in domestic politics have forced him in the last week to voice stronger criticism of South Africa.

Sen. Richard Lugar (R-Ind.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, plans to introduce the measure today. A staff aide said Lugar thought supporters could muster the 60 votes needed to defeat a filibuster before Congress breaks this week for its August recess.

If enacted, the sanctions would have a marginal economic impact on South Africa but probably far more symbolic significance. Supporters said the measures signal U.S. impatience with South Africa's slow pace of racial reform and anger over its current state of emergency. More important for the longer term is that passage of the bill will be interpreted as the collapse of congressional support for Reagan's policies. If Reagan signs the bill, supporters of the bill said, it would spell an end to Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with South Africa.


### Chase Reported to Stop Loans

Johannesburg (AP) — Several bankers, speaking on condition of anonymity, said the U.S. Chase Manhattan Bank had stopped extending lines of credit and making new loans to South African banks and companies.

Simon Stewart, Chase Manhattan's managing director in South Africa, declined to confirm or deny the report, but other bankers said it contributed to a sharp fall in the South African rand.

Black Cops Stuck in the Middle, Page 15





# Uneasiness on South Africa Grows

NYT 8/2/80  
By NICHOLAS D. KRISTOF

Many of the 300 American companies operating in South Africa are increasingly uncomfortable with their presence there, and some are looking for ways to retreat or reduce their involvement, according to interviews yesterday with executives at dozens of these companies.

Virtually all of the major American concerns that have plants in South Africa say they plan to remain there. But they also say they are closely following the growing unrest in that country. And companies that can pull out easily, such as banks, are beginning to do so.

Tidwell Industries, a manufacturer of mobile homes with headquarters in

Haleyville, Ala., said yesterday that it was selling its South African subsidiary to a company based there.

Tidwell began producing mobile homes in South Africa 16 months ago. It drew unfavorable publicity because it refused to sign the Sullivan Principles, a voluntary code of conduct adhered to by many American businesses that operate in South Africa. Companies observing the code promise to treat black and white workers equally and to work for political change in South Africa.


"With the economic situation over there what it is, we felt we needed to take our lumps and get out," said Thomas L. Smith, Tidwell's internal auditor.

Some banks are re-evaluating their policies. The Chase Manhattan Cor-

poration has become the first major American banking enterprise to stop lending to private borrowers in South Africa, banking sources said Wednesday. And yesterday two other banks said they had reached the same decision. The Norwest Corporation, a major bank holding company in Minneapolis, and Harris Bankcorp, which owns Chicago's third-largest bank, said they would make no new loans in South Africa.

Almost all the executives who were interviewed said their companies' doubts were a result of deteriorating business conditions in South Africa, which has suffered a severe drought and recession for the last three years, and not a result of mounting pressure

Continued on Page D4





# Uneasiness on South Africa Increasing

Continued From First Business Page  
from American activists to sell off South African holdings. Moreover, the companies insist that they are helping South Africa's blacks by continuing to do business there.

But the pressure of the divestment movement — the "hassle factor," as some call it — takes a toll, some executives acknowledge. A company may find that its South African subsidiary, usually accounting for less than 1 percent of worldwide sales, requires much executive time and energy.

Business consultants who advise major corporations on the risks of operating in various countries are taking an increasingly gloomy view.

"We are advising clients to be very cautious and consider making plans to get out if the situation gets worse," said Kenneth J. McCarthy, acting director of research at Rinfret Associates, a New York consulting firm. "We're saying, 'Have a plan to write off your South African operations overnight if necessary.'"

Mr. McCarthy said his firm's corporate clients were reporting substantially more pressure from shareholders and activist groups.

One indication of the growing domestic pressure on companies is the fact that more than 25 of them have signed the Sullivan Principles this year, according to D. Reid Weston Jr., a senior vice president of Arthur T. Little Inc., the consulting concern in Cambridge, Mass. Those that have

signed now total more than 150.

The pressure on companies with South African ties began to increase during last year's election campaign.

The unrest in South Africa, leading to the Government's declaration 12 days ago of a state of emergency, is worrying companies.

"We are very concerned about the Government's actions there," said Roger Shelley, a vice president of Revlon Inc., the cosmetics producer.

"We constantly monitor it and talk about it frequently at our management meetings. It's clear that this is a part of the world that troubles us greatly from a political viewpoint."

"On the other hand," he added, "we're mindful of the fact that it's important to stay in business there. Corporate America has to join the American Government as a force for change. The easiest thing to do is to cut and run, but that has never been this country's response to trouble."

Other companies besides Tidwell that have curtailed operations in South Africa this year include Blue Bell Inc., the Perkin-Elmer Corporation, PepsiCo, the Singer Company and Pan American World Airways.

The International Harvester Company, based in Chicago, also said yesterday that it was leaving South Africa. "For all intents and purposes, we're out of South Africa or are in the process of leaving," said William Greenhill, a company spokesman. "But all of this is part of our bigger decision to move away from agricultural machinery. No link should be made between this move and any political decisions."

Some companies are increasing their operations in South Africa, according to Kenneth R. Mason, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in South Africa.

"If expansion is possible, they'll definitely do it," Mr. Mason said by

telephone from the chamber's office in Johannesburg. "Some are engaged in new construction. And we have some new entrants — two new companies said last week they were coming in." He said he could not recall the names of the two companies.

A more common view, however, is that new investments are unlikely. "Future investment is the real question," said John H. Wood, director of public affairs at the American Home Products Corporation in New York. "A prudent management would carefully re-evaluate the situation before going further."

Partly because there is little new investment in South Africa these days, the decision of banks such as Chase Manhattan to quit lending in that country's private sector will have little effect, several executives said. Furthermore, banks outside the United States are always available to make loans in South Africa.

A bill to impose sanctions on South Africa, which the House of Representatives passed yesterday, also will apparently have little effect, they added. The measure would ban the importing of South African gold coins and ban lending by American banks to the South African Government.

Some major companies with sizable operations in South Africa declared that they would stay. "We have decided to remain in South Africa and confront apartheid on a day-to-day basis in the workplace, in the marketplace and through public discussion," said Michael Dutton, a spokesman for the International Business Machines Corporation.

The Beatrice Companies, the Chicago-based food and consumer products concern, also intends to remain in South Africa, where it employs about 400 people in making intimate apparel for the local market, according to Martin Peterson, director of

community relations for the company's International Playtex division.

Other companies expressed caution. "We're trying to keep our management apprised" of circumstances in South Africa, said Barbara M. Kommer, manager of investor communications for the Hewlett-Packard Company. "There are no decisions at this point. Obviously the situation is very fluid, and we are looking at it continually."

"The political sensitivity has increased our concern," said Sidney H. Doggett of the American Cyanamid Company, "and we have our vice president of international operations in South Africa now, evaluating our operations. But we haven't felt overall that any change in our situation is likely." Mr. Doggett is assistant to the international vice president.

Banks are in a much more flexible position because they can simply stop making new loans and, if the climate improves, resume without difficulty. Only three American bank holding companies — Citicorp, Chase Manhattan and the NCNB Corporation — have offices in South Africa.

NCNB, based in Charlotte, N.C., will probably reduce private sector lending in South Africa, said Russell J. Page, a senior vice president,



# 11 More Nations Recall Pretoria Envoys

By FRANK J. PRIAL

Special to The New York Times

HELSINKI, Finland, Aug. 1 — In a signal of displeasure over the situation on South Africa, 11 more Western European nations recalled their ambassadors from Pretoria today for what were termed consultations.

The foreign ministers of the 10 members of the European Economic Community, and of Spain and Portugal, all of whom are here for the meeting marking the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Declaration on European Security, decided on the measure at a four-hour meeting on South Africa on Wednesday night.

One Common Market member, France, recalled its Ambassador to South Africa last week and barred new investment in South Africa.

Sources close to the Common Market ministers said that the discussion never reached the point of deciding on specific sanctions to impose against South Africa. Opposition to any kind of sanctions was apparently overwhelming from the outset of the talks.

## For and Against Sanctions

West Germany and Britain were said to be leaders among the anti-sanctions group. France apparently was almost alone in supporting sanctions, with Belgium leaning toward the French position.

In a statement, the foreign ministers "took note of the debate and resolution in the United Nations Security Council" and reaffirmed their adherence to their anti-apartheid declaration of July 22, particularly its condemnation of the state of emergency proclaimed in various parts of South Africa by the Pretoria Government.

They also condemned, the statement said, "the refusal of the South African Government to meet with Bishop Desmond Tutu." The statement added, "They repeat their appeal to that Government to open a dialogue with all the representatives of the black majority."

In announcing the decision to recall the ambassadors, Luxembourg's Foreign Minister, Jacques F. Poos, as spokesman for the group, said the nations remained divided on the issue of economic sanctions. "There are certain reservations among the member states against economic measures against South Africa," Mr. Poos said.

## 'Certain Restrictions'

At the same time, the foreign ministers' joint statement noted, "All the countries of the Community have imposed certain restrictions on their relations with South Africa."

When the Common Market took action today, it was the first time since the three-day Helsinki conference opened Tuesday that events were not dominated by the activities of the United States and the Soviet Union, especially the debut in the West of the

Soviet Union's new Foreign Minister, Eduard A. Shevardnadze.

With direct Soviet-American meetings over, the two nations' delegations left Helsinki earlier today, well before the conference's closing ceremonies. Just before his early morning departure, Secretary of State George P. Shultz met briefly with Avital Shcharansky, the wife of the Soviet dissident Anatoly B. Shcharansky. The nature of their conversation was not disclosed.

Three of the Common Market foreign ministers held news briefings today to explain their own countries' views on the Community's relations with South Africa. Sir Geoffrey Howe of Britain, accepting the majority view, said economic sanctions "had not by experience, been very effective." At the same time, he added: "We share passionately the view that apartheid is an evil foundation for a system of Government. It cannot be defended."

## Reaction From France

Foreign Minister Roland Dumas of France, which imposed its own sanctions last week, noted with satisfaction that the other Common Market countries' "position has come closer to ours."

Hans-Dietrich Genscher of West Germany, an early opponent of economic sanctions against Pretoria, said the Common Market must "endeavor to establish a political strategy" for dealing with apartheid. In what was interpreted as a light slap at the French for acting on their own, Mr. Genscher said: "Every step we take must be in the context of that strategy. We must set up an inventory to see what some states have already done in this context."

Asked if there had been any serious differences of opinion expressed in the four-hour meeting, Mr. Genscher said: "There was no fight last night. We proceeded to a common analysis of what has taken place since our last meeting on July 22 when the 10 nations, plus Spain and Portugal, agreed in condemning apartheid."

Mr. Genscher noted that West Germany, "a couple of years back," was the first nation to set up a "code of good conduct for European firms in South Africa." The code, which would be voluntary, would encourage business dealings that "improve the social situation of black workers," he said.

## Meeting on South Africa

The ambassadors to South Africa will return home later this month, according to Mr. Dumas. They will work with their respective foreign offices to prepare a strategy to present to the Common Market foreign ministers at a meeting on South Africa to be held next month.

Finland, as host nation here, sought today to promulgate a final communiqué on the results of the three-day ses-

sion. The idea was sidetracked after it met with opposition from many of the participants, who saw the conference principally as an informal gathering.

Sir Geoffrey was among those opposed to the communiqué. "I would have agreed," he said, "on a communiqué listing all those who attended. Had we produced a document that went beyond that, it would have been a considerably less profitable meeting."

## The U.N. Today

Aug. 2, 1985

### GENERAL ASSEMBLY

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# Sanctions by South Africa Might Hurt Black Nations

Special to The New York Times

8/2/85

JOHANNESBURG, Aug. 1 — Cecil John Rhodes, the British colonialist, is said to have dreamed of a day when the empire he sought to expand in the late 19th century would span a continent, linked by railroad from the Cape to Cairo.

The dream, in a way, came to a halt in the tawny savannahs of central Africa, when it collided with the equally grandiose vision of King Leopold of the Belgians, and the railway Rhodes envisioned went no farther than what is now the border between northern Zambia and Zaire, the former Belgian Congo.

But the legacy remains, so that for many African nations, all railroads lead if not to the Cape then to South African ports. Thus, when the leaders of South Africa's white minority Government threaten to respond to United Nations or American sanctions by punitive measures against black-ruled neighbors, they are touching a raw nerve of economic reliance.

That reliance, however, seems offset by the benefits South Africa itself derives from its ties with black-ruled nations, which would be jeopardized by economic sanctions against them. The black-ruled neighbors would suffer most, but there would also be some losses — probably bearable — for an isolated South Africa.

## Foreign Workers Important

Black African dependence on South Africa is rooted not only in trade and transport ties, but also in the hundreds of thousands of foreign black workers who find employment in South Africa that they cannot find in their own countries.

According to South Africa's Chamber of Mines, for instance, 288,000 foreign blacks work in the country's mines alone. Their earnings last year were estimated at \$1.1 billion, half of which was repatriated to their countries. The countries include Lesotho, with 108,000 mine workers in South Africa; Mozambique, with 50,000; Botswana, with 18,000; Malawi, with 19,000, and Swaziland, with 13,000.

Since many families in Africa are large, the number of people dependent to some degree on the remittances of mine workers could be at least 1.8 million.

In addition, many black workers, possibly over one million, work in South Africa illegally.

## Other Trade Routes Severed

Moreover, a history of unrest and revolt — much of it provoked by South Africa — in a broad swath of land stretching from Angola to Mozambique has severed the trade routes some black-ruled nations might use to escape dependence on the subcontinent's economic giant.

Once, for instance, Zaire was able to export much of the mineral wealth of its southern mines on the Benguela Railway through Angola. But that route has been closed since the civil war of 1975-78.

Thus, it is estimated that Zaire now exports over 40 percent of its copper and other minerals on the 2,200-mile "southern route" through Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Its principal alternative within its own frontiers is an unwieldy rail-river route to the port of Matadi, where shipments take at least two months from the mines to the Atlantic Ocean.

Increasingly, too, Zaire is using the southern route for imports of food, coke, coal and explosives for its mines. Almost 60 percent of its imports are said to use the route.

## Zambia Heavily Dependent

In Zambia, according to South African figures, 70 percent of imports and 40 percent of exports — principally the copper on which the nation depends for its survival — pass through South African ports.

For Zimbabwe, which has a preferential trade agreement with South Africa, the figures suggest that 63 percent of imports and 65 percent of exports are routed through South Africa.

An alternative, once, was the railroad to Maputo, but it has been closed for months as a result of a rebellion sponsored, once, by South Africa. South Africa says that since a non-aggression pact with Mozambique was signed on March 16, 1984, it no longer backs the rebels. The railroad, however, remains a deserted track of steel.

According to figures compiled by South African economists, Malawi also relies heavily on South African routes, for 60 percent of imports and 50 percent of exports. Botswana, Lesotho and South African-controlled South-West Africa depend totally on routes through South Africa.

But South Africa's threat of countersanctions against black-ruled neighbors also has its drawbacks and seems a double-edged sword.

According to official figures, South Africa's trade with black-ruled nations has decreased from 1981 levels. But the Reserve Bank in Pretoria reports that exports to black-ruled nations in 1984 — the equivalent at current exchange rates of \$450 million — accounted for 6.7 percent of all exports excluding gold, while imports from black-ruled Africa cost the equivalent of \$200 million, 1.9 percent of the overall import bill. Additionally, railways and harbors earn revenue from the foreign shippers in black-ruled countries.



## Pressure on South Africa

A CONVINCING abstract case for applying economic sanctions against South Africa is extremely hard to construct. Most European governments believe that flows of trade and finance offer such general benefits that they should continue even to countries with abhorrent regimes. The examples are legion and they raise the question why South Africa should be placed in a different moral category.

In practical terms the arguments against economic sanctions have been spelt out here several times before. Industrial development has already shown itself to be an insidious force for change in the South African system. Economic isolation is more likely to stiffen white South Africa's resistance to reform than to enhance it. Anyone who disputes this assertion must concede that the new tide of anti-apartheid, pro-sanctions sentiment in the U.S. has coincided with 12 months of particular obduracy and misguidedness in Pretoria.

If the economic isolation were to produce recession still deeper than the one South Africa is already experiencing it would bear as heavily upon the black population and upon South Africa's black neighbours as upon the white minority. It might make a violent end to apartheid more likely, but it would not promote a peaceful move towards a constitution in which black South Africans are citizens of their country and play their part in the election of the central government.

### Breakdown

The internal pressures for reform and dangers of a collapse into violence are already great in South Africa. The most significant developments of the last year have been the way the basic political aspiration has eclipsed economic inequality and the non-constitutional aspects of apartheid as the central black grievance and the way black participation in local administration has been branded as collaboration. A breakdown in the services and the law and order of the black townships in white South Africa now threatens with dire consequences.

Abstracted from the real world such arguments would endorse the speech which Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Sec-

retary made last week in which he firmly opposed economic sanctions of any kind. But realpolitik makes such a stance counter-productive even for a government by conviction of the sort led by Mrs Thatcher.

A global tide of pro-sanctions sentiment is running very strongly. The U.S. Congress is moving relentlessly towards sanctions. The UN Security

Council has recommended them. The majority of European governments want them. The overwhelming majority of Commonwealth governments want them. The point has been reached where spelling out the logical arguments against sanctions conveys an attitude of appeasement and self-interest, however much Britain insists it abhors apartheid and urges constructive change upon Pretoria. To judge by recent statements made by President Botha, the South African Government is just as inclined to misinterpret Britain's position as anyone else.

### Joint approach

There is every chance that events in South Africa will make this isolated and misunderstood position harder and harder to justify in the weeks ahead. Britain's balance of economic interest could well shift if governments in the Commonwealth and the Third World single it out for criticism. Nor can the Government rule out an upwelling of anti-South African political sentiment in Britain to match the one in the U.S. Even in President Reagan's America observers now find it hard to predict whether the President will preserve his backing for the British Government by vetoing the sanctions now going through Congress.

After hours of argument on Wednesday night the foreign ministers of the European Community countries failed to find a common line on sanctions, unsurprisingly in light of the prior postures unwisely struck by France and the UK. But they agreed to recall all their ambassadors from South Africa and will now draw upon their advice to find out if there is a joint approach upon which they can all agree.

Britain has every interest in trying to discover, through

this process, joint European sanctions that will underline the clear list of demands it has already made of the government in Pretoria without for the moment setting out to undermine the South African economy or its trade.

Some actions could be unconditional, like making the EEC code of conduct for European companies working in South Africa mandatory. Others could be made conditional upon the South African government's future policies. These might include a clamp-down on European participation in loans guaranteed by the South African government, a ban on the sale of Kruggerands and a cultural embargo on the export of films, television programmes and other forms of entertainment.